244 there is the striped mouse, Mus pulchellus Gray (zǒfǒ III), which gnaws the nuts. A kind of black rot affects the nuts here and there during certain years. A number of caterpillar species which consume the leaves can scarcely be designated as actual pests. It
244 is probable that the black rot has led the women to the belief that
789 other women are capable of making their groundnuts sick and of ruining them by means of "medicine." They try to counter this trick with a medicine consisting of the bones of the turtle, the elephant, the pig, and the guib, which are burned to ashes and then crushed; it is scattered on the seeds before planting. Of the remaining medicines that are supposed to influence favorably the growth of groundnuts, the most important one consists of rubbing
[386 the groundnuts with a specially prepared coloring made from red
824] wood, ba-ayǎ′; accordingly, this medicine is called ba-ayǎ′. This red coloring (see Section 18, "Sexual Life") produces the
[822] desired results and fends off hostile intentions. Red is everywhere the color of joy, growth, and reproduction. On the day the woman plants the groundnuts, she paints a line between her index finger and thumb with the "medicinal red" which will give her a lucky hand; or she draws a similar line on the upper surface of a tree stump and covers the stump with leaves, like a cap. This is to say: "May you groundnuts blossom, grow, and thrive (the red color is for this) under such a protection (referring to the leaves); nobody will be able to do you any harm (referring to the
[833] medicine)." Furthermore, on the eve of sowing, the man usually sets a good example for the groundnuts "assembled" in the basket /91/ by performing coitus for their benefit. With this example he sends them on their way: "Multiply! (1)" Another

•[844 834]

1. This is done even when the woman is menstruating, whereas sexual intercourse is otherwise avoided during this period. In this case, as a medicinal act, sexual intercourse with a menstruating woman is supposed to be particularly good for the groundnuts, on condition that the woman "brings good luck (ayüe)" (see Section 18, "Sexual Life").

325 834 not be good. This extremely unpleasant prescription, in conjunction with the expensive medicine, stands in the way of a greater distribution of smelting enterprises. Even in places where a hut for iron smelting is already in existence, people prefer to buy iron from others if their own has been a failure several times, for this misfortune is attributed to the failure of the fire as a result of the sexual /226/ impurity of one or a number of the participants. The [439] importation of European iron in recent years is dealing a death blow to the native industry. The fear of bringing anything impure 325 783 841 (and all sexual matters are pre-eminently regarded as such) into contact with pure fire goes so far that a medicine is made by those participants whose wives menstruate during the smelting. This consists of a diamond-shape piece cut out of the bark on the supporting beam of the smelting hut on the side facing the furnace, and it is supposed to represent the female sex organ. The symbol is rubbed with redwood which has been pulverized by the woman concerned and represents her blood flow; it is covered with a leaf of the [834] Myrianthus arboreus P.B. (mangǎme III Fang) to indicate that one wants everything impure to be hidden and therefore harmless. At the same time the plant is supposed to cause the iron to coalesce to the same degree as the individual fruits are united in a syncarp. In Plate 17 one can see a piece of the leaf on the supporting post (top left), as well as (somewhat lower down) a bark container which holds fragments of ancestors' skulls, a number of antelopes' horns, and a great variety of other medicines that are used later. That the 325 people concerned with the ancestor cult are regarded as particular- 769 ly suited to bring the work to a successful conclusion is apparent from the fact that they alone may tend the fire (see Fig. 183).

The smelting of iron is thus above all under the aegis of the fire cult, but it is also closely linked with the worship of the ancestors who contribute to the success of the enterprise insofar as it lies in their power to do so.

316 325 Iron crops out in the form of brown iron ore (sɛ̀ɛ̄ IV) (1) and is

1. The analysis carried out by Mr. Du Bois at the suggestion of Professor Pufahl (Königliche Bergakademie in Berlin)

First half year (mbú)

805 esɛ́b = farming season (summer), from December to May, consisting of:

1. vūɛ̄'n esɛ́b = great dry season (December to February);
2. šō gō, esɛ́b = short rainy season (March to May). /206/

Second half year (mbú)

ojǔ n = rainy season (winter) from June to November, consisting of:

1. vūɛ̄'n ojǔ n = short dry season (June to August);
2. šō gō, ojǔ n = great rainy season (September to November).

A division of the half years into months is unknown to the Pangwe; he only knows the time span of the individual month (ngō'n, "moon"), and he has great difficulty in understanding that about six to seven of his months correspond to the Whites' half year and about 12 to 13 of his months correspond to the Whites' year.

To divide the month into weeks is something that the Pangwe [177] has learned from the Whites and has wholeheartedly adopted on account of the four Sundays (sǒ'nǒ III). He himself has marked off the first one to two days after the new moon as days of leisure, as has already been mentioned. He also observes the first seven [841] days of the month as something special, since the menstrual flow of the women supposedly lasts for seven days, but these days do not constitute a special segment of the month designated by a name of its own (1). Nor is there any such time segment in the rest of

[539] 1. It is merely said, for instance:
avǒ ' ngō'n a sǒ malū malǎ or zǎngbǎ'
Cold moon, it came days three or seven.

the month.

We have the same picture with the day as we do with the month. Here, too, only the beginning is sharply defined, while

586 insurmountable aversion to him; 3) repeated theft; 4) sorcery by which the woman kills (poisons) the children of other women, and the man is afraid that sooner or later he will likewise become her victim; 5) the slow development of the woman who was a child when married, in other words, the man had overestimated her age (this case is as characteristic of the Negroes as the reason given for it: "So that his money will not be spent for nothing"); 6) such diseases as leprosy, elephantiasis of the feet, and a form of dysentery (tiɛ), if they appear soon after marriage.

In certain cases it may also happen that continued adultery and sterility of the wife lead to divorce.

If the reason for the return of the wife is well founded, which in most cases it doubtless is because a Negro will not give away his wife for nothing, the purchase price is returned, or in case the father-in-law has more daughters, a sister of the ex-wife is given in exchange for the unsuitable one. /264/

[691] Naturally, quarrels arise in great abundance on such occasions, and legal proceedings stemming from the refusal to return the purchase price of a wife constitute, next to cases of adultery, the majority of all litigations.

4. Medicines, Influence of Sexual Intercourse

842 827 In the opinion of the Pangwe, the seed is formed in the nipple. This idea was probably arrived at through the fact that at the time of sexual maturity the breasts swell and at times even attain the size of the breasts of girls of the same age. From the nipple the seed flows into the pubic region to the mons pubis (edă'k) and is deposited there to flow out during coitus (see medicine for gonorrhea, Vol. II, p. 50). There would be too much [302] if the pubic hairs were shaved off. Hence they are merely cut short as a hygienic measure dictated by the hot climate, the secretion of sweat, and itching skin rashes. Concerning the significance of the testicles, the Pangwe are in complete ignorance; they believe that they merely serve to erect the penis.

● 841 Menstruation is the sign of the ability to bear children and is looked upon as an effect of the moon (ngō'n = girl and moon).

841 Hence, according to rule, menstruation should start in the first few days after the new moon, but unfortunately the white-haired old fellow seems to take his task rather lightly and is rarely dependable. In order to hasten the appearance of menstruation and thereby to make the girl capable of bearing children or, better yet, to make her accessible to men, a medicine is used. Sexual intercourse during menstruation is not exactly prohibited, but it [834] is nonetheless regarded as unaesthetic and is usually avoided. In [824] order to staunch the blood (a džǐ b makji), the women stuff dry plantain tow into the vagina, a process which they repeat from time to time. They also have medicines designed to hasten the end of the flow of blood.

832 In view of the lack of moderation with which the Pangwe from 824 early youth indulge their sexual desires, the young man at an early age feels the need to fortify his sexual powers. For this reason, they take medicines, biǎ n nkŭn, medicines for the penis, whose effects are thought of as a transference of characteristics, in accordance with the conceptions described earlier concerning the power of organization /Ed., not translated/. I shall mention the following.

1. Hardwoods, to transfer their hardness to the penis: Albizzia brownei Oliv., Leguminosae (angŏk); Baccaurea bipindensis Pax., Euphorbiacea (mbă'n-afă'n I), leaves ground in ngon and eaten; Carpolabia alba Don., Polygalaceae (onŏn, tŏmo[k] IV Fang, tŭē'me Ntum), a remedy frequently used, /265/ /Fig. 85 appears here in the original text/ the leaves eaten with an egg and a piece of the stem is tied around the body so that it lies over the seat (Fig. 85, a); Cyclostemon gilgianus Pax., Euphorbiacea (onŏn nsă'k, t. -nsă'k), root scraped into an egg, stem piece worn as in the previous case; Tricalysia tessmannii Krause, Rubiaceae (tŭē'me-afă'n IV Ntum), likewise; Cola pachycarpa R. Schum., Sterculiaceae (ekŏ'm), fruit kernels eaten; Clerodendron bipindense Gürke, Verbenaceae (ndžĭke fă'm = men's liana), leaves ground with true Cola and eaten.

2. Thorns whose stiffness is supposed to be transferred to the penis: Lonchocarpus barteri Benth., Leguminosae (ejŏ' a fă'm a

575 184 We have not been able to learn anything about the ceremonies of protection against the bivur. However, Akam Eyene told us that when a member of the buiti has inadvertently eaten the flesh of his protecting animal, which is absolutely forbidden, he holds a meeting called dzimba in the course of which the wrongdoer, after dancing, presents his case. Then the [77] head of the buiti absolves him, spitting scrapings of the bark of the ovan onto his head.

575 198 The buiti has a secret language. Akam Eyene gave us only the secret names of certain of its initiates, which correspond to the animals chosen as protectors:

He himself	called	ndzikwe	chimpanzee
Ondo Ngema	—	ngilabongo	gorilla
Akum Eyene	—	osingi	tiger cat
Ngema Eyene	—	mitumbu	panther
Bekeka Yebe	—	mogabene	elephant
Angwe Nseme	—	menyanga	snake
Mba Minkwe	—	meyasamba	rooster
Kumeyeme	—	mepeku	eagle
Abaga	—	ndzobe	wildcat

771 V. Totemism. Despite all questions which we have put to many natives of various tribes, we have not been able to find any signs of totemism. We were only told of instances of individual unions with animals, as in the buiti or following an akaga.

Family and Collective Life

008 In this chapter we will examine the life of the individual in the family and in the social group, from his conception until his death, in corporating into this framework the family and tribal organization as well as relations with strangers.

842 833 841 Conception (menoñ bum). A woman, we have been told by our male and female informants, cannot conceive until after she has menstruated four times. She is, in fact, forbidden to have sexual intercourse before her fourth period. At her first menses, the woman tells her mother or her mother-in-law if she is married (usually her mother-in-law, since there is hardly even a young girl, still with her family, without a husband); the latter henceforth supervises her more

842 meticulously and in due time gives her permission to have relations
833 with her husband. The first relations must take place on the day fol-
841 lowing the end of the menstrual period so that the not yet completely dried blood in the organs of the woman can mix with the sperm of the man and make a kind of paste called nsüe a mon (lizard of a child), which goes back up into the womb of the woman and there develops [78] and becomes the child. If the woman has relations with a man before the prescribed time, she will definitely become sterile.

842 Sterility, for which many causes are recognized, can be treated, except in the case noted above, in case of bad conduct, and in case of voluntary abortion in the course of a first pregnancy. In order to
847 abort, the woman finds a midwife (ngañ minanga) who sends her out
824 to look for the bark of the afamega vine and the tum tree, which she crushes and with which she makes an infusion. The woman goes to the brush and takes four irrigations of this infusion, and that is enough to induce abortion.

842 On the other hand, the woman who wishes to have children may be barren for several reasons:

843 (1) She may have aborted naturally and without desiring it. An
842 abortion is recognized as having a natural cause, that is, without malignant external intervention, in that the patient recovers three or four days after the accident and without having suffered too much. In this case the midwife gives the invalid a prohibition called awos which restrains her from going near any man other than her husband. She may not say a word to a man except through the mediation of another woman who acts as interpreter; she may not give anything to a man without this intermediary, and may not sit where a man has sat; and for this last reason she always carries a little seat with her. This prohibition must be observed for two or three months, after which the woman is again allowed to have relations with her husband. If at the end of three more months she is still not pregnant, the midwife then gives her a treatment which consists in having the patient take some soup (abura) made of pumpkin (ngon) ground on a stone and mixed with herbs (mia mi nyo, oyañ) gathered and chopped by the midwife. These she cooks with salt and pimento in a pot at the bottom of which has been placed a copper ring (kon ango), covered by a large leaf during the cooking.

844 see it, and if she sees it she will have no more children. The mother is then washed with very hot water in which pimento has been steeped; after this her abdomen is bound with a belt of bark (ewag) which she keeps on for several days.

846 After the birth of her child, a young mother is known by the name of nzinze, which she keeps until she has the right to resume relations with her husband. She has a special bed in the hut, on which a [844] menstruating woman may neither sit nor lie so as not to give scabies to the mother and the newborn. The young mother rests for about three months, during which she does no work and bathes every day with water as hot as she can stand, the lumbar region especially being [757] bathed. Moreover, after every bath she is smeared with red paste (ba) to prevent scabies.

Recovery from childbirth is marked by a celebration (okula mon). The first time she goes out, the woman carries a package of ba, a piece of which she places on every tree stump she meets on her way, to mark her path. On her return she prepares a large quantity of food she has brought back. The husband invites the men of his tribe, and the wife invites the women of her husband's tribe. When the food is ready, it is taken to the men in the watchers' hut, where the child is also taken. The women eat in the hut.

846 827 757 To improve the quality of her milk, the young mother drinks progressively, if necessary, three medicines:

(1) An infusion of aseh roots.

(2) A milky-looking infusion of pieces of tubers of a plant with a thorny stem (ekon bökun).

(3) Latex from a rubber plant.

761 789 It may be that the child dies at birth. Three causes for this are recognized:

An evur has eaten the child. To prevent this from being repeated and so that the woman will in the future bring living children into the world, she resorts to the practitioner. He goes into the forest armed [83] with a machete and a basket. He gathers the bark of an ovan, and also brush and vines that grow under this tree. On his return to the village he divides his collection into two parts. One part, mixed with water, is put in a large rectangular container of banana leaves called etok, which has been filled with the blood of a domestic animal sacrificed for the welfare of the woman. She then immerses herself

301 [291] Women wore only a sort of double apron of grass or leaves, azem or abui, fastened to a belt of cylindrical steatite beads, nsanga; bracelets, mekom, of ivory or copper shaped like spools; ankle chains, bibat, of cast copper, very heavy; and an enormous necklace of cast copper, nkembé, which was put on a little girl when she entered her [764] affinal household and which could not be removed until after death, by cutting apart the body or melting the necklace or awaiting decomposition. All this jewelry belonged to, and remained in, the husband's [422] family, even in case of divorce; the ésa was the person who distributed it among his wives and daughters-in-law. Flat bracelets were made of 306 "neptunes" or "benares" /?/ imported from the coast; later on they made, and still make, rings and bracelets from cartridge cases and telegraph wire. But the origin of the cast minkembé /plural/ is still a mystery; the technique of metal casting is unknown or forgotten; placer or lode copper is very rare, not only in the present Pahouin [325] habitat but also where they seem to have come from. Furthermore, these very old necklaces resist corrosion and have a very pale patina indicating some kind of alloy; moreover, the nearest workers in bronze the Bamum, do not make this kind of necklace.

291 [177] Men's dress at the present time is usually of the European type, from shorts and sports shirt to the surplus American cap; those who wear shoes have European footwear, leather or canvas according to their income, or in the style of the Arabic—silifa, from English "slipper" = babouche, of Hausa or Peul manufacture. Mention should be made of the helmets and kepis of umbrella-tree wood and the fake spectacles of slivers of raffia "bamboo." In the villages or at home, imported loincloths are rolled around a belt or tied behind the neck.

Women also wear a loincloth, éndelé, tied at the neck or rolled tight above the breasts when they have nothing else on, rolled at the waist when wearing the "mission jacket," éwoman (apparently from "woman"). The favorite head covering is still the kerchief, éyañese (from "handkerchief"). More and more women are also wearing cut and sewn European-style dresses, bizingi; often a kind of slip; no [841] panties except for a few young modernists (who call them caleçons, "drawers"); and internal sanitary napkins made of medicinal plants. [747] Mission activity has spread notions of prudery; formerly only those past puberty were obliged to cover their sexual parts. Women did so 834 with great care in spite of the casual nature of their clothing; the greatest insult to a woman was to uncover her vulva in public; she never